

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

HISTORICAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALISTS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Mexico and our Government Policy.

From the Herald. We have given additional news about the trial of Maximilian. Justice, rigid and impartial justice, was not done to him. Mexico has lost much in the mode of his trial; for however well the nation was convinced of his guilt, we are astonished that the republic should have so far forgotten itself as to have placed him on trial before a lieutenant-colonel and several subordinate officers. Justice demanded a court-martial headed by a major-general with generals at the board. Lieutenant-Colonel Platon Sanchez, about thirty-five years of age, was, however, one of the few officers of the Mexican regular army, in the liberal service, and received a fine education at the military school in the city of Mexico. His appointment to the presidency of the court was made by Escobedo, whose malignant, despotic, and unprincipled character cannot be too highly condemned; for he is the great blot upon the liberal army. To him is due much of the influence which was brought to bear upon the Republican Government to condemn the sentence passed upon the prisoners.

Our advice also give us notice of the success of the republic in restoring quiet to the port of Tampico. In fact, the whole country appears to be rapidly coming under the entire control of the national republican party, if we except a few Indians, under Lozada, in Western Jalisco, who will soon be reduced to quiet. Thus the Mexican people enter upon a new era, and the world will now watch them with an intense interest. The future policy of the United States with reference to Mexican affairs is at length clearly enunciated in the final paragraph of Mr. Seward's long-winded communication about Santa Anna. He says that nation seems at last to have triumphed over all its internal and foreign enemies, and to have reached a crisis when, if left alone, it may be expected to restore tranquility, and to reorganize itself upon permanent foundations of union, freedom, and republican government. Only some great national injury, wrong, or offense would justify this Government in suddenly assuming a hostile or even unfriendly attitude towards the republic of Mexico.

This expression of opinion on the part of the Administration is wise and timely. It will at once quiet the filibustering spirit of the country, and place the United States in that position of dignity which she should assume with reference to a neighboring republic whose struggles against foreign invasion have been heroic, and whose future is no indissolubly linked with our own. Her efforts to liberate Mexico is to have a chance to try the effect of her great "laws of reform" and her hard fought for and well-earned Constitution of 1857. Modeled upon our own, we are anxious to see its rigid enforcement throughout the land that has made so many sacrifices to reach a liberty for which they have been constantly grasping. In her onward pace Mexico must, however, step aside from the blood red line by which we trace her in her modern history. No more shooting for political offenses—no more massacres like that of San Jacinto. The age demands a new and loftier action; but not on her part alone. We cannot forget that, under the shadow of a civilization which France pretended to confer, were committed upon Mexican soil, some of the most horrid slaughters that stain the history of the times. In condemning Mexico we equally condemn those who, boasting a greater advancement, set her such a bloody example. It is time that this inhuman cruelty that blots the history of the Latin race were laid aside, for they are entitled to no claim to civilization if they write the record of their progress with blood. Mexico or France, France or Mexico, is equally culpable.

There is much work before the Mexican statesmen, and we may expect some local turmoil before the liberal elements which have for fifty years been hammering at retrograde ideas settle into quiet. We wish to give them fair play, however; to assist them in the march of peace; to aid them with our more practised theories of self-government; to throw into their country some of the cosmopolitan bone and sinew that will set their wonderful natural resources in action; to show to them the policy of opening wide their doors to the same broad liberalism that we show towards the oppressed of Europe; to advise them to lay aside that jealousy of the foreign element that has been taught them by exclusive Spain, and learn that a nation, to be great in this age, must proclaim to the world that its lands, its resources, its political privileges belong to every man who will come and partake of them. Under this broad policy Mexico may undertake a rapid march towards a brilliant future.

Cost of Reconstruction—A New Issue Raised by the President. From the Times. In transmitting certain reports to Congress on Monday, embodying information called for respecting the work of reconstruction, the President gives expression to views which indicate an almost incomprehensible perversion of the scope and effect of the policy adopted by that body. It seems that the \$500,000 appropriated for the execution of the existing acts have been expended, and that a further sum of \$1,645,270 is required for present purposes. An inquiry touching the amount that will probably be needed to fulfill the ends of the law, the President declares his inability to answer specifically. He proceeds, however, to present a series of hypotheses, having neither fact nor probability to rest upon; and on this foundation he builds an argument which in effect charges the National Government with the whole cost of civil administration in the ten excluded States.

The argument has not even the merit of being ingenious. It starts with the assumption that the supplementary act just passed deprives the States in question of all civil administration, and thence infers that the consentation of authority in the district military commanders imposes upon the Federal Government the necessity of providing for local expenditures of all kinds. In the first place, he estimates that the minimum amount necessary for running the machinery of local government in the South will be \$14,000,000—the aggregate annual expenditure of the ten States for this purpose before the Rebellion. Nor is this all. The President argues in addition that the action of Congress may end in making the country responsible for the State debts of the South incurred previous to the Rebellion, approximating in amount to a hundred millions. Having thus figured up a pile of debt and current expenditure, the President gravely suggests that the assumption of such a load, in addition to our present burdens, might possibly impair the public credit. Or, should

Congress refuse thus to shoulder the load he prepares for it, he suggests that the country may perchance be held guilty of repudiation. It is difficult to believe that the President himself attaches the slightest faith to those representations. There is no warrant for them in the law as it is, or as it will be after the enactment of the bill now in his hands. The interpretation of Mr. Stanbery was not more obviously at variance with the intentions of Congress than is this interpretation of Mr. Johnson. All that is intended—all that is done—is to make the so-called provisional governments of the South subject to the respective district commanders. The local machinery will work as usual. The local expenditures will be met as heretofore. Local taxation will be relied upon to maintain local civil authority, and on the latter will still devolve the duty of upholding the State credit. The fact that this authority is for the time subordinate to the military does not affect the question. It will not be permitted to thwart the purposes of the law or to hinder the progress of reconstruction; but otherwise it will operate as now.

Neither morally nor legally does Congress make itself responsible for the support of the State Governments or the preservation of the State credit; and any estimate based on the contrary supposition is simply absurd. For the President's sake, we trust that the expected vote will reach a more accurate and a more reasonable understanding of the policy of Congress than that which pervades the message of Monday. That policy has its faults and difficulties, we admit, but nothing can now be gained by attempts to misrepresent either its design or its tendency. The President will commit a very serious blunder if he make his far-fetched fallacies the ground of opposition to the action of Congress.

Ben Wade and Old Thad Stevens.

From the Herald. These two distinguished men seem to be involved in some trouble with the newspaper correspondents. The one has made the letter of a correspondent of the Herald the text of a speech in Congress, and the other has united with his friends in trying to whittle down to the little point of nothing certain statements in a letter from a correspondent of the Times. Ben Wade limited himself at first to disclaiming the inferences which had been drawn from a speech made by him at Lawrence, Kansas, under the influence of the electric atmosphere of the West, or under other equally inspiring influences. But he has since complimented a Western editor who said that he could not have used the language attributed to him, by declaring that he was quite sure he had not used it, and the editor had "caught the spirit" of his speech much better than those who had heard it. Moreover, the correspondent of another Western paper, Mr. Smith (which, to be sure, is no name at all), testifies that he was standing within a few feet of Mr. Wade and "heard every word," but heard "nothing of the kind" alleged, and saw nothing like it in the notes which the Times correspondent showed him the next day. Unfortunately, however, this Mr. Smith's report of the speech contained substantially the same account as that of the Times correspondent, although less detailed and full. Mr. Smith reports that Mr. Wade "entered a protest against the present method of dividing property between the laboring man and the capitalists, saying that the terrible evil must be remedied. The capitalist destroyed both the mind and the health of the laborers. They ought not to stand it, and he thought they would not." According to the editor of the paper in which this report appeared, the reporter declares this to have been exactly what Mr. Wade said. Even those friends of Mr. Wade who have been most solicitous to explain away his speech, admit that he advocated a more equitable division by law of the avails and profits of labor. Now, the only law which is legitimately concerned in this matter is the law of trade, which is wholly independent in its action of all the fine-spun theories of radical reformers of whatever school.

Old Thad is altogether a different man from Ben Wade, and, naturally enough, treats his case with the Herald correspondent in an altogether different manner. He ingeniously denies nothing of a general or a personal nature in the letter of our correspondent. He simply intimates that certain personal statements might as well have been omitted, and perhaps he is right; for everybody knew well enough already what he thought of his colleagues. He is a brave old man who has never minced matters in expressing his opinion of them. A bit of a wag, while, he may not have been sorry of the opportunity to give more point and importance by his Congressional speech to what our correspondent had faithfully recorded.

We cannot hesitate as to which of the two men—Old Thad or Ben Wade—should be put on the same ticket with Grant. We know always where to find Old Thad. As for Ben Wade, we must excuse him from coming forward as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. He is a sort of bushwhacker and fights too shy. Moreover, what can be expected from one who confesses that he worships Greeley as the wisest of men? We think Mr. Wade himself, in the language of Dr. Johnson, "What must that man be whose god is a monkey?"

Misconceptions Rectified.

From the Tribune. The Times (London) demurs at the exultation of the Unionists and their British friends over the downfall of slavery, because of the fearful cost of blood and treasure at which that result has been achieved—adding:—"There was certainly nothing in the nature of things which made it a necessary and inevitable extension of slavery impossible. The war was in the temper of both sides, and in the determination of both to bear no argument and have no compromise. There came a time when the strife could not be stopped, even as the current of the war itself was irresistible—but it was not so at first, and we do not know how never was a time when the controversy might have been settled without the utter destruction of a disputant. It is due to the better side of human nature, and to the hope and the confidence that some peaceful solution of the difficulty had been possible."

In this statement, the Times coolly ignores the most notorious and conclusive facts. There was something "in the nature of" slavery which rendered its "painless extinction" impossible. Its upholders always disdained to debate with Abolitionists the justice or expediency of their "institution." William Lloyd Garrison—whose London oration is the Times' text—began his anti-slavery career as a journalist simply an advocate of peaceful, legal emancipation. He very soon found himself in prison for denouncing the coast-wise slave-trade as piratical. The flogging of the Liberator for his person by the Legislature of Georgia. A pro-slavery mob lawlessly broke into his office at Boston, and hunted him through the streets as though he were a wolf. This was but the beginning. General Jackson, in his Message as President, December 2,

1835, called the attention of Congress to the circulation of abolition matter in the South, and identified their utter suppression. "The unconstitutional and wicked attempts" were among his complimentary allusions to the Abolitionists; and here is the mode in which he proposed to debate with them the main question:—"I would, therefore, call the special attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the mails, of incendiary publications intended to incite the slaves to insurrection."

Governor Marcy, in his Message of January 5, 1836, reechoed Jackson's notions, and affirmed the right of the Legislature to "pass such penal laws as will have the effect of preventing the citizens of this State and residents within it from availing themselves, with impunity, of the protection of its sovereignty and laws, in the sale of any such incendiary and exciting insurrection and seditious in a sister State."

These doctrines were asserted in other States; it was so with the pro-slavery ascendancy, the pro-slavery spirit everywhere. It never dreamed of arguing; it cared only to silence, to punish, and to kill. South Carolina's treatment of the Commissioner whom Massachusetts sent openly to Charleston to institute the necessary proceedings designed to ascertain whether the colored citizens of free States had any rights under the Federal Constitution which the slave States were bound to respect, was a fair sample of the manner and spirit of pro-slavery dealings with the awakening spirit of freedom.

There was nothing in the temper of our side—absolutely nothing—like "a determination to hear no argument, and have no compromise." We deprecated war—we never dreamed of fighting the South because she chose to hold on to slavery. All that we asked was that she should not compel us to aid her in extending slavery over territories not already cursed with its presence; and that she would not allow us to be upon us—because she was not allowed to extend slavery if she could, but because she insisted that we should be a consenting partner in that iniquity. The Peace Conference of 1861 broke up on that point, and no other. We proposed a Convention of the States—we offered important concessions on various points—but Kentucky, which had first proposed a convention, joined in voting it down; and the Conservative South said to us, through such men as William C. Rives, "Consent to the extension of slavery over all Federal territory south of N. latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes, or we dissolve the Union." We would not consent, because we could not without dishonour and crime; hence the Times.

Just a word more, the Times, which now oozes so lovingly, we propose to forget, so soon as possible, but that is not just yet, how for years it reviled and defamed us after the fashion of this extract from its columns of July 28, 1862—not quite five years ago:—"The Federalists * * * their wretched turned into poverty—their prosperity into wretchedness. The power in which they gloried is effaced. Law is trampled under foot, and the Republic is fast falling into anarchy, the only refuge from which is despotism; and we do not scruple to say that we shall rejoice if the worst of these be ours."

Countries for Sale.

From the Tribune. The Princes of Europe, all of whom are over head and ears in debt, have discovered a means to raise money. In examining their revenues they find some pieces of land which they can do without, in case a reasonable price should be offered to them. The success of the Emperor of Russia in disposing advantageously of Russian America has brought out a number of other propositions. The King of Holland had set nearly the whole of Europe on fire by proposing to France the sale of Luxembourg, in order, it is stated in some European papers, to obtain some money for himself and for a certain lady in Paris who had formerly been on intimate terms with him. Being frustrated in this design by the vigilance and the defiant attitude of Prussia, the King now intends to put up some of the American colonies of Holland at auction. The Sultan of Turkey, finding no money enough in the treasury to pay for his trip to the Exhibition, has offered to Russia the sale of Jerusalem for twenty million piastres. In Germany, the Prince of Waldeck finds that the establishment of the North German Confederation will cost his little country more money than it can afford to pay, and he consequently has made the offer to Prussia to buy from him the whole Principality. Should his proposition be accepted, it is believed that at least half-a-dozen more of the little members of the Confederation will hasten to make the same proposition. Sweden is stated to be anxious to sell the Island of St. Barthelemy, in the West Indies. Thus a real mania of making money by selling lands seems to spread among the Princes. But thus far there are more sellers than buyers.

The Democratic Party. The approach of the fall elections, and the holding of several State Conventions to reaffirm principles and nominate candidates, causes a reiteration of predictions that the Democratic party is about to disappear from the politics of the country. The readers of the Times have been regularly regaled with this prediction for the last five years; but somehow, it has not heretofore come true. Whether the Times has stood so long at the death of the Democratic party as a physician, or as mourner, or as hoping to be the undertaker, or as an expectant heir, the watching must, by this time, be getting a little tedious. In 1862 our neighbor's avowments that the Democratic party was in *articulo mortis* were as confident as they are now, or as they have regularly been every year since. And yet the latest figures of every year show that the party is not only thriving, but distributed in the right places, would give this dying party control of the Government.

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days are past. The Democrats who were not attached to the party by principle, held up their hands while it was raining porridge. But those Democrats who have stood fast during the political persecution of the last five years are now likely to go over to the Republicans, now, when that party, having accomplished its object, must soon dissolve. No party can live on obsolete issues; and the slavery issue with all its associated questions will be obsolete from the moment the reconstructed States are admitted.

That the Democratic party is no longer formidable, and is destined to speedily pass away, is certainly not the opinion of the best body of its opponents. If it were, they would not take such infinite precautions against its early return to power. Why are the Southern States so resolutely kept out until after the Presidential election unless they will consent to vote the Republican ticket? For no other reason in the world than because the Republicans are afraid of a Democratic victory. If the continued ascendancy of the Republican party were as assured as the Times pretends, there could not have been the slightest risk in readmitting the Southern States. The Republicans have only to keep their control of the North to retain the government of the country. Their unconstitutional reconstruction policy proceeds entirely from their fear of the Democratic party.

That their fears of Democratic ascendancy are well grounded, is proved by the election returns, which show that a fluctuation of votes smaller than often occurs from year to year would destroy the Republican majority in the Northern States. Foolish predictions that the Democratic party is on the point of dissolution go for nothing in the face of such figures. Such annual fluctuations as often take place from one side to the other could not, in any event, destroy the Democratic party, as the temporary loss of a few thousand voters would still leave it a great and formidable organization. But a gain of a few thousand voters would give it control of States enough to make it a majority both in Congress and the Electoral College. The Times confuses and misleads itself by confounding the difficulty of converting the whole Republican organization to Democratic principles with the difficulty of bringing over a few thousand voters who hang on the outskirts of the Republican party. It is not the former achievement, but the latter, that is essential to Democratic success. And the vigorous radicalism of the great body of the party is favorable to this result by its tendency to repel moderate, reasonable men.

In many of the States there are special causes and local questions which tend to disrupt and weaken the Republican party. We will take our own State as an example, because we are better acquainted with its political condition. A transfer of less than seven thousand votes from the Republican to the Democratic side would give the Democrats the victory. Fenton's majority over Hoffman was 13,789. As every vote changed makes a difference of two in the result, half this number, or 6895, are all that need to be won over to insure the Democrats the State. The rigorous enforcement of the odious liquor law will alone change votes enough to wipe out the Republican majority. A large portion of the German population of the State, which has heretofore voted the Republican ticket, will desert in disgust the party which thus forbids, under severe penalties, their habitual and harmless indulgences. The enormous and hideous corruption of the Republican Legislature last winter is another reason why it will lose many votes among moderate partisans who have not ceased to regard honesty as a qualification for office. Another new source of party weakness is the course of the Republicans on the negro suffrage question. They dare not make a separate submission of that question to the people, for fear it would be voted down; and as forcing negro suffrage upon the South has become the chief feature of their party policy, the vote of New York against negro suffrage would show the Democratic party in this State had lost the confidence of the voters. The fact that they dare not submit the naked question to the people is a symptom of conscious weakness. It proves that the Democratic party, so far from lying at the point of death, has so much strength that its opponents dare not risk a battle with it on their own favorite ground.

Nor is it in New York alone that the Democratic party is behind by a very narrow margin. In Pennsylvania, the next greatest State, Republican majority last fall was only 11,438. It requires therefore only a change of five or six thousand votes to recover Pennsylvania. These two States, New York and Pennsylvania, are entitled, together, to 59 Presidential Electors; and taking 59 Electors away from the Republicans and giving them to the Democrats, will make a difference of 118 in the strength of the two parties in the Electoral College. When we consider how slight a change in the popular vote is necessary to produce so great a result, the pretense that the Democratic party is "played out" seems sufficiently ridiculous.

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AMUSEMENTS. GRAND COMPLIMENTARY HOP AT THE SURF HOUSE, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, ON SATURDAY EVENING, JULY 20, 1867.

MUSIC BY CARROSS & DIXEY'S FULL ORCHESTRA. 7 1/2 FT. GRAND GALA NIGHT AT THE CENTRAL PARK, FIFTEENTH AND WILMINGTON STREETS. The services of Professor S. Jackson have been secured to furnish the music.

A GRAND PYRIC EXHIBITION, ON Wednesday Evening, July 17, at the BRILLIANT ILLUMINATION WITH BENGOLE LIGHTS. FLIGHTS OF SIGNAL ROCKETS. Fig. 1. Star of Columbia, commencing with a centre of green, purple, and gold, suddenly changing to a star of dazzling brightness.

Fig. 2. Liberty Tree, commencing with a wheel of Palestine, with a brilliant centre of asphire, crimson, and emerald, expanding to a tree of gold and silver foliage. Fig. 3. Lovers' Knot, commencing with a revolving centre of purple and gold entwining into a Lovers' Knot.

Fig. 4. Per's Gem, commencing with a zone of brilliant fire, unfolding to a gem of rubious sapphire and emerald. Fig. 5. The Bonnet, commencing with a deep crimson, fringed with green and gold, expanding to a bouquet of brilliant flowers.

Fig. 6. Erin Polka. This beautiful figure opens with circles of crimson, circles of gold, and circles of every color united. Fig. 7. Fairy Fountain, commencing with jets of Chinese fire, which suddenly will well up a fountain of coruscating brilliants.

The whole to conclude with a beautiful figure, arranged and dedicated especially for the TENTH GREAT NATIONAL SENGREEST. The SENGREEST BAND will perform a choice selection of national and operatic airs during the exhibition. Admission 50 cents. Children half-price. Doors open at 7 1/2; performance to commence at 8 1/2 o'clock.

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